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Hinduism in the Roman Catholic Imagination between the Two World Wars

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Abstract: This article explores the Roman Catholic intellectual *milieu* and the articulated perspective of theologians and missionaries on Hinduism in the period between the two World Wars. In the aftermath of World War I, the Roman Catholic Church elaborated a vision of Christian missions that would continue the civilization of India when the political power of Western nations vanishes. In this context, the new science of missiology absorbed the modern valorization of method in studying non-Christian religions, including Hinduism, while maintaining theological concerns about the truth of Christianity.

Keywords: Roman Catholic Church, India, mission, missiology, Hinduism

"Plantata est Ecclesia paradisus in hoc mundo."
Irenaeus[1]

Early modern Roman Catholicism in India is a subject that is undergoing a great reevaluation during the recent years.[2] Contrastingly, the contradictory nature of the transformation of the Roman Catholic mission church into an indigenous church in the twentieth century, including the mental framework that arises out of the painful death of colonial mission theology, still needs scrutiny. In the period between the two world wars, the Roman Catholic Church reassessed its engagement with non-Christian religions, including Hinduism. The transition from expatriate to indigenous churches operated at two levels, in India and in Europe. In this article, the delicate point regarding the changing attitude of Western Catholicism toward Hinduism, both in India and in Europe, is illustrated briefly. The shift of the Catholic attitude was the result of an interaction between historical events and theological evolutions in India on one side, and changes of missionary strategies and theological approaches in Europe on the other.

1 Translation: For the Church has been planted as *a paradisus* in this world. Unless otherwise noted, all translations to English in this article are my own.

2 See for example: Barreto Xavier and Zupanov 2014; Gupta 2014; Henn 2014.

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In the aftermath of World War I, the British Government rethought its policy on the entry of non-British foreigners, including missionaries, moving into colonies like India. One outcome of this policy was the introduction of the Memoranda in 1919. Memorandum B, in particular, dealt with Roman Catholic missionary societies and required the National Missionary Council of India (then the National Christian Council of India) to guarantee that the missionary whom it was recommending would "give due obedience and respect to the government and would be careful in abstaining from political affairs."[3] In other words, Westminster was asking the Catholic missionaries to maintain at a minimum a benevolent neutrality in the business between the Empire and the Indian National Movement.

Most of the Catholic missionary personnel at first were unaffected by the Memoranda; the majority lived in the colonial or ex-colonial boroughs in the current states of Kerala, Tamilnadu, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, and Goa, and did not identify with nationalistic goals. However, when 25 Anglican and protestant missionaries signed a statement in 1920 against the Jallianwala Bagh massacre – which involved the killing of hundreds of unarmed, defenseless Indians by a senior British military officer – and against the consequent actions of the British Government, the situation deteriorated.[4] Memoranda were revised to extend the same kind of loyalty to the Government from non-British missionaries to Indian Christians in service of missions.[5] Indeed, the Government policy was a source of tension and division between Catholic missionaries and Indian Catholics, the former formed mostly of European priests and religion orders, the latter of indigenous Catholics, including those of Syrian rite. In the 1920s, there were only about 2,000 Indian priests for 1,000 foreign missionaries. In the 1930s and 1940s, Western Catholics in India found themselves transitioning from a missionary church with cultural and political connections to Western urban enclaves to local churches led by indigenous clergy, while Indian Christians mainly took the side of the National Movement.[6]

3 Jeyakumar 1999: 11–17.

4 Report 1920: 32–36.

5 Jeyakumar 1999: 11–17.

6 For example, the Jesuits in Tamil Nadu. See: Leguen 1938: 12. Also: Jerome D'Souza, the great Indian Jesuit and four times member of the Indian Delegation to the United Nations Organization, was a member of the National Constituent assembly (1946–50). He negotiated with the Vatican the termination of the Portuguese *Padronado* system, and participated in the negotiation with the French Government for the peaceful transfer of the colonial settlements to the new independent India.

Apart from the Memoranda, 1919 was a game-changing year for India. British authorities issued the Rowlatt Acts, policies that permitted incarceration without trial of Indians suspected of sedition. In response, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi called for a day of national fasting, meetings, and suspension of work, as an act of *satyagraha* (literally, truth-force or love-force), a form of nonviolent resistance. Although the independence of India at that time was nothing more than a dream of Indian nationalists, the Roman pontiff Benedict XV had already established a plan to guarantee the future of Catholicism in India in a post-colonial context. In 1919, he exhorted the bishops, including those in India, to build an indigenous church, which would replace the existing Western-led Church.[7] The process of Indianization of Catholicism, that is, the transition of Catholicism from being considered a foreign religion coming to India to convert to a religion culturally and historically rooted in the Indian soil, began accordingly. Catholic hierarchy in India became increasingly indigenized while the Syro-Malabar Church of the Syrian Christians was allowed to assume a hierarchy of its own.[8] In 1938, the creation of small dioceses run by secular clergy institutionalized the shift.

The period between the two world wars was crucial for the Catholic Church's self-understanding of her role and mission in India. Catholic priests Manoel Francis X. D'Sa and Joseph C. Houpert, SJ, wrote the first general histories of Catholicism in India in English. These are histories written as part of a greater history of Catholicism and emphasized the centrality of the Roman Church as an institution, the authority of tradition in the life of Catholics, and the experience of missionary work in India. The authors were concerned with the internal affairs of Catholicism, including the jurisdictional relations between the Vatican and the Kingdom of Portugal, the heroic period of missionary ardor under the colonial power of Portugal, and the question of faith and heresy inherent to other Christian denominations, especially the Syrian Church and the Protestants. D'Sa and Houpert identified the history of Catholicism in India with the history of Catholic missions, only marginally dealing with Hinduism at all and mostly to defend the early methods of conversion and the truthfulness of Christianity.[9] Only in the 1960s can the history of Catholicism be situated within

7 The first era of Catholic evangelization of India happened under the *Padronado*, the right of patronage given to the kings of Portugal by the Roman pontiff in 1514. Officially, the Vatican established its direct presence in India in 1886.

8 The Syro-Malankara Church was formed in Kerala in 1930, when a group of the Syrian Orthodox (Jacobite) Churches united with the Roman Catholic Church, although keeping its traditional West Syrian rite.

9 D'Sa 1910, 1924, and Houpert 1942. D'Sa's first volume investigates the history of the establishment of Catholicism in Goa in sixteenth century and the further spread to the other

in India's historical context.[10] D'Sa and Houpert's histories mirrored the attitude of the majority of missionaries and Western members of the religious orders in India, who maintained a negative attitude, marked by obscurity and error, to Hinduism. For these Western expatriates Hinduism was the basis of the unjust and anti-Christian order of the castes system and was significantly affected by a radical form of relativism. They not only asserted that Christianity was the one true religion, but also believed that Hinduism was inherently false and invaluable. This attitude changed only gradually during the following decades, although it was only after World War II and the abolition of castes system that a more positive attitude toward Hinduism emerged in India's Western Catholic community.

In the years between the world wars, a truly Indian Catholic theology flourished. The assimilation of the insights of the Brahmin Brahmabandhab Upadhyay (1861–1907), first an Anglican, then a Catholic (since 1891), dominated this period. A towering figure, a contradictory man, and a sophisticated theologian, Upadhyay recognized the value of an institutional church and accepted the truth of the resurrection of Christ. A Hindu by birth and culture, and Christian by faith, his main goal was to turn the attempt of Roberto de Nobili (d. 1656) toward a genuine indigenization of Catholic Christianity into a project for an indigenization of Christian theology for India.[11] To achieve this, Upadhyay declined to repudiate Hindu philosophy; rather, he proposed to use Hindu philosophical categories to reframe Christianity in Indian terms. So, for Upadhyay, Hinduism was inherently a philosophy that would be available to Christianity in India to develop its own theological articulation.

Upadhyay was genuinely convinced that Catholicism in Indian clothes – the option to express a Christian faith using practices and symbols that belong to Indian tradition – was at hand, in which the Vedantic philosophical system should be won over in the service of Christianity as Greek philosophy was won over in the Patristic Age. He claimed that "The Vedanta must be made to do the same service to the Catholic faith in India as was done by the Greek philosophy

Portuguese dominions in India. His second volume is mostly an account of the jurisdictional relations in the nineteenth century between Portuguese *Padronado* and Vatican's Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of Faith. On the claim that the early Syrian Church of India was, in fact, Catholic in character, Houpert built a history of institutional continuity and theological tradition.

10 For a complete compendium on historiography of Christianity in India, see Webster 2014: 159–198.

11 In an article "Are we Hindus?" in 1898, Brahmabandhab Upadhyay wrote "We are Hindus so far as our physical and mental constitution is concerned, but in regard to our immortal souls we are Catholic. We are Hindu Catholic." Quoted in Lipner 2001: 209.

in Europe."[12] The assimilation of the advaitic (non-dualist) philosophy of Śaṅkara should take place within a Thomistic framework, in the same way the Platonic philosophy had conformed to Patristic theology. Despite Upadhyay's devotion of Thomistic theology and fierce loyalty to the core of Christian faith, official opposition to his views increased within the Catholic Church. In 1894, Upadhyay founded the monthly journal *Sophia*, which earned official sanction from the Church. In the same year, he became a *sannyasa* (a Hindu hermit), although he did not belong to any Christian monastic order, nor was he ordained, and had to go to Catholic churches for worship. From 1898 to 1899, Upadhyay tried to establish what he called a *kasthalika matha* (Catholic *ashram*) in Jabalpur (in Madhya Pradesh); in his view, the monastery would serve as a training center for Indian evangelists. He wrote that

> The proposed institution ... should be conducted on strictly Hindu lines. There should not be the least trace of Europeanism in the mode of life and living of the Hindu Catholic monks. The *parivrajakas* (itinerants) should be well versed in the Vedanta philosophy as well as in the philosophy of St. Thomas.[13]

Catholic authorities frustrated his efforts, strongly opposing the project in Jabalpur; moreover, the Apostolic Delegate to India, Micheal Zaleski (the highest Catholic ecclesiastic in the land) denied permission for Upadhyay's undertaking.

In India, Upadhyay's ideas about a synthesis of Catholic faith and Hindu tradition, the evangelization through Hindu philosophy, sparked the interest of a Jesuit group at the Belgian provincial in Calcutta. In 1922, Pierre Johanns (1882–1955) and Georges Dandoy (1882–1962), both Oxford-trained orientalists, established the journal *The Light of Asia* in pursuit of a prudent reception of Upadhyay's synthesis between Vedanta philosophy and Thomist theology.[14] Johanns, Dandoy, and their mentor William Wallace (1863–1922) at St. Xavier's College in Calcutta were inspired by Upadhyay's intuition that Vedanta presented a natural basis for Christianity, which was understood as operating at a supernatural order. The intellectual legacy of Johanns, Dandoy, and Wallace is also known as the "The Calcutta School of Indology."[15]

Alfons Väth, S.J. (1874–1937) was familiar with India, having worked there as a missionary and church historian. As a German Jesuit, he settled to live in Bombay from 1899 to 1903, then became professor of English and Indian history

12 Quoted in Animananda, probably 1947: 68.

13 Quoted in Lipner 2001: 210.

14 Johannes 1932; Johannes 1944.

15 For a history of the "Calcutta School of Indology", see Namboodiry 1995. For a study on the theology of Pierre Johannes, see Doyle 2006.

at St. Xavier's College from 1910 to 1916. He argued that Catholic participation in the National Movement was an action against conscience because it was directed against the legally constituted government. Väth called on Christians to reject the National Movement, which he considered anti-Christian. In alignment with the late colonial atmosphere, he believed that Indians lacked the essential standing for self-governing; in general, Väth was pessimistic about successful Christian evangelism in India, described the Upaniṣads as "erroneous teaching," and rejected fulfillment theology (see below).

In 1928, Väth published the first Western study of Upadhyay.[16] His book, the fullest critical study of Upadhyaya to date, was dismissive of Animananda's earlier biography and proposed appropriate ecclesial disciplinary measures. His criticism was maintained in the following years. In 1934, Väth summarized his objection to Upadhyaya by arguing that

> Around the turn of the century a highly talented Indian convert from one of the noblest Brahman castes, Upadhyaya Brahmabandhav, designed new plans for the conversion of the intellectuals and Brahmins. He [Brahmabandhav Upadhyaya] advocated the most far-reaching adaptation of the missionaries to the custom of the country ... Christianity had become detached from the European culture ... Instead of the Aristotelian-Scholastic philosophy, Vedanta should serve the development of [Indian] Christian doctrine. This was the boldest idea ... He let himself realize the impossible because the Vedanta is theopanistical ("theopanistisch") in its innermost being.[17]

Väth sustained that Vedantic thought was useless to Christianity because in Vedantic thought, the order of creation is not safeguarded. He states, "Vedanta is theopanistical in its innermost being," which means that the order of creation will dissolve as soon as it comes in contact with the divine order.

In Europe, French priest Jules Monchanin (1895–1957) reflected on Upadhyay's project of an Indian-Christian Catholicism.[18] Monchanin agreed with Upadhyay's notion that the essence of a religion is distinct from its

16 Väth 1928.

17 Väth 1934: 238.

18 In a letter from October 16, 1950, Monchanin recollected how he was introduced for the first time to Brahmabandhab Upadhyay's life and thought. In 1929, H.C.E. Zacharias suggested Monchanin to read Animananda's biography of Upadhyay (see note 11 above). For Monchanin's recollection of the episode, see Monchanin 1974: 203. For a study of the adventurous life of Zacharias, see Folliet 1955. Moreover, in a dinner with *Sri* P.A. Anthony, an Indian magistrate in Kulitalai, Monchanin talked with admiration of Johanns and Dandoy, and their journal *Light of the East*. The dinner probably took place in November 1939 (Anthony 1958: 52–53). Since Upadhyay's ideas had provoked so much opposition within the Catholic Church, it is not surprising that the always prudent Monchanin did not mention the Indian convert in his public records.

forms; however, their projects were different.[19] While the latter was interested in identifying a Vedantic school of thought that could dress the irreducible deposit of Christian faith, the former was focused on substituting the core of Hinduism with the core of Christianity, leaving all of the rest intact. "It is Hinduism that must be converted, by taking on oneself through mystical substitution ... by placing it ... the Man God."[20] Since the essence of Hinduism is mysticism, the Christianization project of India required the purification of the mystical core of Hinduism, like planting a seed to pollinate a beautiful flower. From reading Upadhyay's description of ashrams as a monastic community, Monchanin took from Upadhyay the intuition of a Hindu-Christian contemplative monastic order.[21] Monchanin left France in 1939 to relocate to India, where by 1950, he had established a Catholic ashram.

Before moving to India, Monchanin joined the Société des Auxiliaires des Missions, an organization founded by the priests Vincent Lebbe and André Boland in 1930 in Belgium. The society sought to prepare priests for service under indigenous bishops, and even though its main interest was China, Monchanin was recognized as having an evident vocation for India. He conducted an initial period of parochial work in small villages of the dioceses of Trichy in French India, a colony of about 300,000, surrounded by British India. Trichy reflected the French attitude of that time in its pursuit to replace the previous spirit of imperialism with a mission of civilization. The dominant attitude of Catholic missionaries was as restrained as that of their predecessors, who attempted to introduce Western religion and culture into India during the early twentieth century. In corresponding with family and friends in France, Monchanin wrote about the Catholic attitude toward Hinduism, disclosing his perception that the Indian church in the 1930s was Western and that many Western Christians wished to maintain distance from the surrounding Indian society. While a number of Western Christian thinkers had tried to interpret Hinduism in Christian terms, most secular priests and religious orders working on Indian soil continued to equate Hinduism to superstition.[22]

The shift from expatriate to indigenous churches ignited at the very center of Catholicism. The Magisterium – the Church's official teaching office – gradually

19 Incredibly gifted in philosophical theology, Monchanin is probably a more reliable guide into the realm of Upadhyay's orthodoxy than Väth and Johanns. With a strong attachment to the essentials, mixed with creativity of thought, Monchanin seemed to have the natural instinct that invariably led him to matters faithful and accurate.

20 Monchanin 1965: 30.

21 Anonymous 1959: xvii–xix.

22 Monchanin 1965: 25.

provided a unified vision and scope to the instructions that every institute or congregation exclusively or partially dedicated to the evangelization of non-Christian countries was used to provide to missionaries. These instructions were usually an adaption of the original legacy of the founder. In a series of Encyclicals, whether papal or episcopal, starting in 1919, Rome took the lead of the slow transition from European evangelization to indigenous church implantation.[23] More specifically, the Magisterium modified its global mission efforts by recognizing – a decade before the demise of colonialism – the end of the European power that served as a platform for nineteenth-century missionary expansions, and the contemporary independence of the colonies, with the ancillary effect of the renaissance of local religion traditions. By focusing on indigenous church leadership, the Church also developed a new awareness of the importance of incarnating the gospel message into the local culture.

The attitude of Catholic mission studies with regard to Hinduism changed somewhat in the same way as had the general attitude toward non-Christian religious traditions. The initial attitude of the Catholic Church – to consider the native Indian faith nothing more than a pile of unredeemed beliefs in practices based on superstition – gave way to an appreciative interest in Hinduism as possessing some value of its own. The shift was essentially cultural. Indigenous communities, including the Indian one, which had been considered "primitive" and living without religious traditions or cultural systems, were suddenly recognized as key components of great civilizations. The mission scholars looked at the world from the confessional perspective of their Catholic tradition, becoming interested in and appreciative of the variety of religious and cultural traditions, and how communities in the so-called non-Christian world were affected by these traditions. Cultural studies thus became a characteristic feature of the study of mission.

The period between the world wars evidenced a shift in the focus of mission studies. No longer confined to the investigation of the evangelization of the so-called "non-Christian world", mission studies began to explore the ways in which Christianity encounters world cultures. Mission became an academic discipline and assumed the form of science. Josef Schmidlin was the first Catholic professor of missiology and church history, being appointed in 1914

23 Benedict XV's apostolic letter *Maximum Illud* ("Spreading the Catholic Faith"), 1919, Pius XI's encyclical letter *Rerum Ecclesiae* ("Fostering Missionary Zeal"), 1926, Pius XII, *Evangelii Praecones* ("Development of the Missions"), 1951, Pius XII, *Fidei Donum* ("Gift of Faith"), 1957), and John XXIII, *Princeps Pastorum* ("Prince of the Shepherds") 1959.

at the German university of Münster.[24] When he laid the foundation of much of Catholic mission studies, at that time a new academic discipline, he offered a perspective in which theological truth works in combination with scientific method in the human sciences. After Pope Benedict XV issued the Apostolic Letter *Maximum illud* (1919), the *Magna Carta* of the Catholic mission, the establishment of the chair of missiology at the University of Münster became the model for numerous professorships established in other European universities, including Munich, Würzburg, Njimegen, Fribourg, Lyon, and Vienna.

The whole idea of missiology was about pursuing religious studies in a way that is methodologically sound and able to offer an objective presentation of non-Christian religions. Missiology, or the scientific study of mission, originated as a discipline as a spin-off of church history. Mission professors in the first half of the twentieth century tended to become hybrid scholars, their study of mission being related to (1) other areas of expertise, such as geography, ethnology, anthropology, linguistics; (2) fields of theology, including theology of religions, comparative theology, historical theology; and, (3) new scientific insights, i.e., Darwin's evolutionary theory, heliocentrism. Convincingly, Stephen Bevans argues that missiology was a "project of modernity", a contemporary form of apologetics.[25]

Indeed, missiology was a contemporary form of apologetics to sustain the Catholic Church's strategy of missions in a post-colonial era. Although the scientificity of missiology was unquestioned, the critical method was used as a way of making theological claims of superiority over rival philosophical and religious traditions, including Hinduism. Two pioneering schools of missiology dominated the Catholic intellectual landscape in the period between the world wars: the German school of Josef Schmidlin, SJ, at the University of Münster, and the school of Louvain founded by Pierre Charles, SJ. The former distinguished itself for maintaining that the aim of missionary activity should be the conversion of non-Christian individuals.[26] Schmidlin defined "mission" as the

24 When Schmidlin started lecturing mission themes and then founded the mission studies as a scientific discipline within the Catholic theology, at least 16 Protestant professors in 20 universities in Germany were already providing courses of missiology. The protestant theologian Gustav Warneck was appointed to the first Mission Scientific Chair in Germany at the University of Halle in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

25 Bevans (ed.) 2013. For articles in Beyans' collection specifically dedicated to the geographic areas or historical periods that are covered in this article, see Joseph Putenpurakal, SDB, "Catholic Mission in Asia 1910–2010", 24–33, James Kroeger, MM, "Papal Mission Wisdom: Five Mission Encyclicals 1919–59", 93–100, and Francis Anekwe Oborji, "Catholic Missiology 1910–2010: Origins and Perspectives", 133–154.

26 Schmidlin 1917: 56.

extension to individuals of the Kingdom of God, the proclamation of the gospel and salvation of souls (*salus animarum*), although social aspects might be included.[27] The notion of salvation of the souls, and the inherent primacy of the religious over the cultural, liberated Schmidlin from any resentment against non-Christian religions and positioned him against the option of indigenous episcopacy. Regarding Upadhyay, Schmidlin criticized Zaleski's officiousness and lack of understanding towards Upadhyay, a demonstration of both admiration and sympathy for Upadhyay and his writings.[28]

With all said, Schmidlin remained adamant about an evident superiority of Christianity over Hinduism. In particular, he sustained that the justification of Christian missions is twofold: bringing the true religion and cultural civilization to pagans.

> In the eyes of unbelievers and pagans the chief justification of the Christian mission lies on the fact that, as the representatives and preachers of a superior and absolute religion, they bring to the pagans religious blessings which they had not before enjoyed [while certain] cultural objects and tasks [are] a civilizing agent of the first rank.[29]

Pierre Charles agreed with Schmidlin in seeing mission as more than simply an historical expansion of Western Christendom into the so-called "non-Christian world".[30] He understood this movement as natural, organically inherent to the Church's mission – as received directly from Christ – to evangelize the whole world and deliver salvation to the ends of the earth (Act 13:47). He envisioned the whole world as incapable of self-redemption, yet thirsty to be redeemed. The scope of the mission was not saving individual souls but rather planting a visible, "adult" church (*plantatio ecclesiae*) with strong roots in the soil, that is, hierarchy, clergy, and means of salvation, including sacraments. So, the mission will be accomplished

> when the Church has become solidly established throughout the world, with her clergy locally recruited, her sacraments within reach of all sincere people of good will, her preaching available to all who are not willfully deaf, her laity disciplined and busy, her congregations both active and contemplative, with the salutary joy that she brings to her children.[31]

27 Schmidlin 1933: 43–44.
28 Schmidlin 1924: 201–218.
29 Schmidlin 1933: 108.
30 Charles 1939: 59.
31 Charles 1956: 240. Those words date from 1932.

In Charles's theology of mission, the idea of inculturation operated mirroring the notion of planting. In fact, Charles argued that mission entails a reciprocal dynamic of transformation: the transformation of the missionary message by the local culture, and the impact of the missionary message on a local culture. On the one hand, the Christian message is subject to assimilation, so that it can assimilate the value of non-Christian cultures and religions and the spiritual competence of non-Christians, even the "primitives", as they were labeled. [32] On the other hand, the local culture needs to be penetrated and transformed from within – it needs to be Christianized so that the entire community is brought "to maturity in accordance with all their abilities".[33] In summary, the Church should be indigenized so that the Christianization of the people is complete.

Despite adoption of scientific positivism and empiricism, theological concerns dominated Catholic scholarship on the Indian religion. Catholicism seemed to maintain a distinction between passionate admiration for a grandiose and fascinating culture and the rejection of religious and spiritual beliefs that looked irritant and blasphemous. For example, in 1931 the pontiff still explicitly mentioned the peril of Hinduism, a deliberate form of spiritual illusion: "To India abounding in false sages and suspect mystics, in dubious asceticism and theosophical lies."[34] The point is, by re-constructing the Catholic conceptual view of Hinduism as a religion, missiology never dared to exceed the Western categories of analysis that have been normative at least since the European Renaissance and Enlightenment; nor did missiology divorce from Tradition. While the previously neglected interaction of Catholicism with Indian culture and society was a positive change, missiology still perpetuates the attitude that there is some degree of superiority of Christianity against which Hinduism can be measured. Moreover, the Church's implanting thesis was essentially cultural in assuming that there is a meta-narrative – a doctrinal deposit of faith – in Christian history that has universal validity, although it assumes different cultural variations.

Not surprisingly, the notion that Hinduism should be regarded as a preparation, and Christianity as a crown, for Jesus came to fulfill and not to destroy, slowly developed in that era. Christian theologians in the first two decades of the twentieth century introduced in the intellectual circles of India the notion of fulfillment theology, the recognition that Hinduism is a "stepping-stone" to

32 These themes were discussed in lectures and in the *Semaines de Missiologie* that Charles directed at Louvain until 1950.

33 "Cours de Dogmatique Missionnaire", Unpublished syllabus (in Latin) of course taught by Pierre Charles, SJ, at the Gregorian University in Rome, 1932–1938.

34 Brou 1931: 24.

Christianity.[35] Everything of value in Hinduism will be conserved in a Christian India, maintaining that Christianity is the religious standard and Hinduism, like any other religion, is to be judged by it. In the early 1940s, French Catholic theologians Jean Daniélou (1905–1974) and Henri de Lubac (1896–1991) absorb and refine the whole concept of fulfillment theology as an extension of the fulfillment of the Old Covenant by Christ, i.e., the fulfillment of other religions by Christ. De Lubac theorizes the extrication of the essential from the accessory: he suggests to set apart Christianity's dogmatic core from its cultural forms so that the dogmatic core can be inculturated in non-Western civilizations. Daniélou publishes *The Salvation of the Nations*, an influential book in which he connects the re-evangelization of the West with the missionary work of inculturation in the East and beyond. Their pioneering work then became the official theology of the Catholic Church at the Vatican II.[36]

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35 In an article on *Sophia* entitled "Our Attitude Towards Hinduism" in 1895, Upadhyay writes that Christian faith must fulfill and not destroy what is true and good in Hinduism, and that with the exception of ancient Greece it is in Hindu thought that human philosophy or insight into the invisible things of God reached its zenith. See also his lecture in Mumbai entitled: "Christianity as the Fulfilment of an Ancient Philosophy", December 1898.

36 Protestant theologians who recovered Christ's own statement that he came not to destroy but to fulfil (Matt. 5:17) were William Miller, Bernard Lucas, T.E. Slater, and specially John Farquhar (1861–1929), an educational missionary in Calcutta who published the classic *The Crown of Hinduism* in 1913. See also Daniélou 1950.

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